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A Final Word
As to
Regina, the German Captive

PAPER READ BEFORE THE LEBANON COUNTY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, AUGUST 18, 1905,
AND APPENDICES.

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VOL. III. No. 8.

A Final Word as to Regina, the German Captive.

BY S. P. HEILMAN, M. D.

I begin this paper in the same way that I ended a paper read before this Society three years ago, August 29, 1902, with the lines :

“ And while my soul retains the power
To think upon each faded year,
In every bright, or shadow'd hour,
My heart shall hold my mother dear.
The hills may tower—the waves may rise,
And roll between my home and me;
Yet shall my quenchless memories
Turn with undying love to thee.”

In all ages of the world, in all conditions of society, in the palace of the high and the refined, in the dwelling of the lowly and the uncouth, this transcendent emotion of a mother's love for her child has had a constantly recurring expression in romantic literature, as truly, also in the pathetic notations of true historic data. It is due to the constancy and pervasiveness of this emotion that the pathetic story of “Regina, the German Captive,” far removed though it is from us as to time and place, remains, like many another story like it, a living thing, which neither time nor distance has withered in freshness, nor paled in our memories and affections. It also must stand in part as our excuse for once more coming before this Society, as we did once before, as to that pathetic story; in part also, and especially, now that something radi-

really new and decisive as to the personages and place of that story can be laid down, and with a sense of finality as to the same not admitting successful disputation.

Before proceeding to submit this new matter we must review certain traversings in the near past. The Society will recall that re discussion of this story, which by common consent had long ago been given its final setting, was revived, say, within the last four years; by reason of the appearance in the newspapers of the announcement of a project to erect near Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County, Pa., a monument to the memory of Regina Hartman, in pursuance of a claim, made December 8, 1901, by the Reading "Eagle," that near Orwigsburg was the actual site of the Hartman massacre in 1755, and the point of departure of Regina's captivity. (See Appendix A.)

So firmly had it been held and believed by others, whose opinion was of authoritative value, that that sad occurrence took place in territory now in Lebanon County, that inquiry was entered into to ascertain data as to the correctness of the Orwigsburg claim. In said article in the Reading "Eagle" of December 8, 1901, the entire Regina story was given with much circumstance, together with a cut of the site of the Hartman house and spring. In a letter, dated July 21, 1902, to the writer from Mr. A. S. Jones, a member of the Berks County Historical Society, it was stated that the article, referred to above, that had appeared in the Reading "Eagle," December 8, 1901, had been written by Squire H. H. Brownmiller, a public school teacher of Orwigsburg, that it had been headed by him (Jones) "Proposed Monument to Regina Hartman," and that before publishing said article, he (Jones) had written Brownmiller inquiring "from what source he got his information that Regina's parents located at Orwigsburg, and that the tragedy occurred there, and also how far a movement had been made towards the erection of a monument to Regina's memory, but he (Brownmiller) deigned no reply." Mr. Jones said further in his letter: "Until Squire Brown-

miller sent in his article I had never heard that Orwigsburg claimed that the tragedy had occurred there."

Judging from its tenor and contents the entire Brownmiller article is based on a book—"Regina, the German Captive," by Rev. Reuben Weiser, published in Philadelphia, 1856. This book is truly another illustration of the saying: "Truth is stranger than fiction." Weiser's story, altho cleverly told, and not without certain historical merit as to some parts of it, is claimed to be based on a brief account of the tragedy given by Mrs. Hartman and her daughter, Regina, after her restoration, together in company on a visit to the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg "at his house in New Providence in 1765," by whom in turn the story was recorded in the *Hallische Nachrichten*. In fact Weiser says, p. 224, "It was during this visit that Dr. Muhlenberg received from Regina's own lips the account which he has given of her thrilling history," and then adds very truthfully, "and of which this is an enlargement." As to the "enlargement" part by Weiser, full credit must be given him, for in his Preface he says: "That I have sometimes drawn upon my imagination must be admitted; for how else in the absence of documentary evidence could I bring the various links of the chain together." Certainly, by means of the imagination things of any and all kinds can be "linked together." But that is not writing true history. - The only reason for taking Weiser into the reckoning at all, a man who in later years, in a council of his own Church, declared that he "had shed oceans of tears over his short comings," is that his book has been circulating for many years in Sunday School Libraries, and elsewhere, as a correct and accepted version. It cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of truth in his version, had he only left out his imaginative embellishments, extending even to the literal translation of a letter that never existed. (See Appendix A.) The truth of the matter is that there is absolutely no documentary evidence, that has come to us, as to the Regina story other than that put on record by Muhlenberg, and entered up in the said *Hallische Nachrichten*. In order to show just

what Muhlenberg had said in said record, a translation of the same from the original German was kindly made for the writer by the Rev. John W. Early, of Reading, Pa., which translation was published in full in the Lebanon "Daily Report," April 13, 1903. (See Appendix B.) As just said, Muhlenberg's account was positively the only known account of the Regina story. It is to be carefully noted that in that account Muhlenberg nowhere gives the name Hartman, nor where they resided prior to the 1755 massacre, nor does he mention Orwigsburg, or any other place, only that "In February, 1765, a widow and her adult daughter, from Rev. Kurtz's congregation, came to see me," and then goes on to tell the story as given him by the widow and daughter, Regina, just as it is recorded in the Hallische Nachrichten, and from which we have had until now the only and really correct information.

Concurrent with the making of these investigations, in which I had the very able assistance of my friend, Capt. H. M. M. Richards, a member of this Society, Secretary of the Penna.-German Society, and who has given that period of our provincial history much study, the matter of the location of the Hartman tragedy was submitted to him for his views. To this request Capt. Richards made reply by letter, dated December 14, 1901. In this letter he set down a number of reasons why the Orwigsburg claim is untenable. He also stated, altho guardedly, that the Lebanon County claim is the more plausible one of the two, in other words, that, "the balance of proof is in favor of Lebanon County." This letter of Capt. Richards, together with a Paper, entitled "The Story," (of Regina, the German Captive) prepared by myself, and read before this Society, August 29, 1902, in which the the entire controversy as to location was presented, and the story itself reproduced, were published in No. 2, Vol. II, of our Society's publications, which No. 2 was issued November 21, 1902.

Subsequent to the issue of this No. 2, and its coming under the eye of Rev. H. A. Weller, of Orwigsburg, he wrote a lengthy article, published in the Orwigsburg "News," Feb-

ruary 20, 1903, (See Appendix C,) in which he answered, from his point of view, the question placed at the head of his article: "Where did the tragedy, which resulted in the pathetic story of 'Regina, the German Captive,' occur?" After disclaiming all controversial intentions, and expressing a desire only to arrive at the truth, and also paying his compliments to Capt. Richards, as "that usually pains-taking and considerate authority in matters of local history," and to myself as an "estimable Secretary," which compliments are hereby acknowledged, and their truth vouched for, Mr. Weller, in his article, proceeds to show, of course, in polite phraseology, that neither that gentleman of "pains-taking authority" nor the "estimable Secretary" "knows what he is talking about." (And as to this he came as near being right as in any part of his article, in the light of what is shown later in this Paper, altho in doing the Samson act to our own structure erected in 1902 we have to take Bro. Weller's annex along down to the same irreparable ruination.) Having fixed that part to his satisfaction, he proceeds to the main question, to which his answer is that Orwigsburg is the sure thing, to prove which, after referring to Muhlenberg's account, and Weiser's story, jumbling the two together, the one right and the other wrong, and after quoting from the records of Zion's Church, in West Brunswick Township, one and a-half miles distant southeastwardly from Orwigsburg, he places his main reliance on a book entitled, "The Story of the Life of Daniel Diebert," published at Schuylkill Haven, 1884. In this book it is shown that the grandfather of the said Daniel Diebert, William Diebert, had settled here in Schuylkill County only a few years after "a German family by the name of Hartman came from Europe and settled at the place where Orwigsburg now stands. The family consisted of the parents and four children, two boys and two girls." This is followed by the Hartman story as usually told. According to this account the Daniel Diebert farm "was next to, or near, the former Hartman plantation," and, therefore, that grandfather Deibert and Hartman

were neighbors and contemporaries, and further that the Hartman story came down directly to Daniel Deibert, who was born in 1820, and the story of whose life was published in 1884, as shown above.

Mr. Weller's article is exceedingly interesting, its several parts are put together with much ingenuity, and certainly would prove the "pains-taking" Capt. Richards and the "estimable Secretary" guilty—if proven. This was February 20, 1903, and Mr. Weller had the last word. Since then nothing further has cropped out as to this historical controversy. As to Mr. Weller—we extend him the "glad hand" all the time, and hold him our most esteemed friend.¹

All of the foregoing is a succinct statement of the entire disputation since its first beginning, December 8, 1901, and it has purposely been made succinct for a two-fold purpose: 1, for the purpose of a full review of that disputation, and to give all sides of the question; and 2, in preface to, and for the purpose of setting out in bolder relief, what is now to follow.

And that which is to follow is a statement, no less astonishing than it is new, that after all these years of fancied correctness as to the name Hartman, and the place of settlement of that family, the discovery has been made that the name was not Hartman at all, and that neither Schuylkill, nor Lebanon County, was the place where the family in question first settled. This statement is made in a forthcoming book, entitled "Pennsylvania Germans in the French and Indian War," in

¹There may have been Hartmans at that time near what is now Orwigsburg. It was a numerous name, as it is to this day. There may have been a Hartman family there with a Regina Hartman as a member of it. Her family may have been one of those so cruelly dealt with during the Crwigsburg raid. If so, Mr. Weller's account must inadvertently be of that Regina, otherwise the story of that Regina remains yet to be written. The Regina of his account is not the historic Regina, not the Regina known as "Regina, the German Captive" not the Regina described by Muhlenberg. If there was a Regina Hartman carried into captivity from Orwigsburg, with anything of an interesting story pertaining to her, Mr. Weller will render a signal service in giving the public an account of it. A probable time, but not a fixed date as to the Orwigsburg massacre, is given in Appendix E. Rev. Mr. Early places it at November 2, 1775.

preparation by our friend, Capt. Richards, in the series of volumes issued by the Penna.-German Society. To that MS. Capt. Richards has most kindly given me free access, and in the balance of this paper is set forth the character of the remarkable statement made by him in his forthcoming book, together with the proof adduced by him as to the truth of his statement.

Capt. Richards begins by saying: "While carefully searching the Pennsylvania Archives quite recently he was more than astonished upon reading the narrative about to be given, to notice that it referred to Regina and her sister, that the name was not Hartman at all but instead LEININGER, and that the family was located near the site of the present town of Selinsgrove, at the West Branch of the Susquehanna. It so completely upset all preconceived beliefs on the subject that investigation followed at once. When this was carefully made, all was clear enough. Reference to Muhlenberg's letter will show that he does not give the family name of the widow and her daughters; in addition to that we know that the massacre took place on October 16, 1755, the very day of the massacre at Penn's Creek, the first which occurred anywhere, and some time before those of Swatara, Tulpehocken, or Orwigsburg. In the light of this evidence, even the approximately accurate data of Rev. H. A. Weller cannot stand. Both Orwigsburg and Lebanon County will be forced to resign their claims, and we must all learn the lesson anew." "For the first time it gives us the real name of Regina, the real location of the family, and the true facts of the case, from the lips of one of the actors in the tragedy." The narrative referred to by Capt. Richards also shows the interesting fact that Barbara was not tomahawked on her way to captivity, as has been stated and supposed, but that once more Muhlenberg is correct in saying that she "was compelled to go more than one hundred miles further, when the sisters parted, and Regina lost all trace of her." The narrative was originally given and printed in German for Barbara Leininger, and sold by her to obtain means for her maintenance.

The narrative is entitled

The

Narrative

of

Maria le Roy

and

Barbara Leininger.

Who spent three years and one half as prisoners among the Indians and arrived safely in this City on the Sixth of May.

Written and Printed as dictated by them.

Philadelphia.

Printed and for sale in the German Printing
Office

Six pence per copy.

MDCCLIX.

Die
Erzählungen

von
Maria le Roy
 und

Barbara Seiningcr,

Welche vierthalb Jahr unter den In-
 dianern gefangen gewesen, und am 6ten May
 in dieser Stadt glücklich angekommen.

Aus ihrem eignen Munde niedergeschrieben und
 zum Druck befördert.

Philadelphia gedruckt und zu haben in der teut-
 schen Buchdruckeren das Stück vor 6 Peng.
 M, DCCLIX.

In the library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of this very rare little pamphlet. It was there, practically an altogether forgotten matter, until by means of a translation of it made during the Secretaryship (of the Commonwealth, 1878) of John Blair Linn, brother-in-law of Dr. Henry Harbaugh, by Bishop De Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, and given a place in the Penna. Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII, pp. 401-413. It was there, as Capt. Richards states in his Paper for the Penna. German Society, (see p. 208 this Paper) whilst searching for data for that Paper, that he incidentally came across this narrative, and after having given it careful study, and compared it with the Muhlenberg account, he came to the clear and incontrovertible conclusion that Regina Leininger was none other than the historic Regina, the German Captive.

Whilst, therefore, the narrative itself is not new matter, nor the Muhlenberg account, both being well known to many others, it is the first time to have the story of Regina, the German Captive, connected with the narrative of Barbara Leininger, the first time to have discovered the fact that Regina, the sister of Barbara Leininger, and Regina, the German Captive, were one and the same person, the first time, therefore, to have ascertained the true family name of Regina, the German Captive, and the first time to have found the exact location of her family, and the true place of the tragedy, and this most creditable work is due alone, and only, to Capt. Richards, the "pains-taking and considerate authority." (Weller.)

It is also to be mentioned that Rupp in his "History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," published 1844, mentions (p. 318) the Regina incident, using the Muhlenberg account (Hallische Nachrichten) as his authority, and locates it as per this clause—"and settled on the frontier of this County"—in Lebanon County, the then prevailing view as the correct location, but later and now, shown to have been an erroneous view. But Rupp just like Muhlenberg, does not use the name Hartman at all. In connection with this statement of his own, Rupp quotes the account of the Regina incident by Rev. Todd, in his "Sabbath School Teacher," which account is nothing more in substance than the Muhlenberg account rendered in English, and abbreviated at that. Rupp, otherwise known as a careful writer, must not have had any knowledge of the Leininger narrative, or if did, failed to interpret its proper import.

Whilst the narrative is not a narrative of Regina at all, she being mentioned therein only incidentally; it is made a part of this publication in its entirety (See Appendix D) for its elucidative and corroborative value as to this long hitherto vexed question, and, furthermore to give to all the members of our Society access to a document so rare, and so inaccessible to most of them.

In brief summary of the narrative—we are shown where Barbara and Regina resided, how they were taken into captivity, how they became separated (never to see each other again), the experiences of Barbara, and her companion, Marie le Roy, during their captivity, their escape, their return journey, and their arrival finally at Philadelphia, May 6, 1759, 3 years, 6 months and 20 days, after the beginning of their captivity. The narrative closes with the words: "We intend to go from here to Lancaster, where we may easily be found."

There is positively no known further record of Barbara Leininger. That the period of her captivity was so much shorter than that of her sister, Regina, that the end of her return journey brought her so near to the then abode of her mother, the Tulpehocken region, now Stonyburg, without learning of her mother, and that no further trace, or mention, of her is left us, are mysteries, the solution of which seems now to lie only with the God above, to whose providential aid she so repeatedly and thankfully, in her narrative, ascribed her own escape, as well as that of her faithful companion, Marie le Roy. For Barbara there was no meeting again in this world of mother and child, so happily vouchsafed her sister, Regina, later on, with all its thrilling and joyful experiences.

As for Regina, the German Captive, that story, except as required to be modified by this latest derived evidence, stands just as heretofore and hitherto related, and needs no rehearsal here again. (See Appendix A.)

It was agreed between Capt. Richards and myself that the same Society to which three years ago we had contributed

the result of renewed investigation as to certain uncertainties pertaining to that remarkable story, should also be the first Society to be honored with this latest evidence, whereby, as we believe and hold, those uncertainties are now incontrovertibly solved. It is for this end that this Paper, as our joint proposition, is now laid before this Society.

Subsequent to the reading of the first Regina Paper, read August 29, 1902, the writer proposed to his friend, Lee L. Grumbine, that he set his versatile hand to the making, out of this tragic story, a great epic poem for us Pennsylvanians, like unto the Evangeline of the New Englanders. Quite awhile afterwards Mr. Grumbine called me into his office, and to my great surprise and delight, read me these opening lines, of what he no doubt intended making a beautiful production, like so many others that had already come to us from his splendid mind and facile hand. But alas! other duties intervened, and finally the hand of death (he died August 18, 1904, stayed him this projected song. We give these few lines, only 64 in number, in loving remembrance of a personal friend, as well as that of a host of others, to whom his doings during his useful but short career were a blessing indeed!

REGINA, THE GERMAN CAPTIVE.

A LEGEND OF THE EARLY PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN
SETTLERS.

Seaward flows the current of smooth Tulpehocken's tide,
Now, as in days long ago, between verdant banks does it
glide

Onward thru flowery mead, and woodland, and grassy lea,
Shaded with many a leafy alder, or stately oak tree;
Rippling noisily over the ripples and glistening stones,
Singing in gurgling, purling, murmuring monotones,
Gentle lullaby songs to drowsy, sleek-coated kine,
That in the noon day shade, on its banks, contented, recline;
Or, in the dead of night, plays accompaniment to the frog—
Leader of wierd nocturnal chorus, in neighboring bog.

Quietly gliding again thru deep, translucent pools,
Where, in sportime and constant play without master or rules,
Shiny, silvery, finny schools learn their lessons of life—
Queerest mingling of pleasure and pain, of peace and of
strife,

Struggle 'twixt strong and the weak, in lowly estate or in
high,

Whether among the creatures of earth, of water or sky.

Ever seaward rolls on the never resting stream.

Like to the ceaseless visions of the poet's changing dream:

Ever obedient to Nature's gentle command and no l,

Ever doing, expressing the will and the voice of God.

Rising in clouds of vapor, refreshing the parch-ed earth,

Raindrop and dew from heaven to joyous life give birth,

Soon again mingling in common stream in the onward flow,

Human events and men, like these, with the current go;
Spirits come down from the heavens, raised by a mystic
power,

Dwell in the earth for some appointed purpose and hour,
Strong in their individual force, and great among men,
Yet in the flood of time make no more mark than when
Falls in the sea the miniature drop of rain;
Men and events thus fall in eternity's endless main.
One thing alone recognition and a benison will procure,
Ebbing unsoiled to the sea, the life that was sweet and pure.

Different now is the scene which meets traveler's eye,
Glorious pictures of peace and plenty before him lie—
Endless acres of wealth and industry, far and wide,
Stretching out 'long the course of the stream on either side,
Acres of fat fruition by the world's best husbandry tilled,
Barns that are bursting with riches, houses with comforts
filled,

Hillsides clad in golden mantles of nodding grain,—
Magic transmutation of the sunshine and the rain,
Orchards laden with fruit, and fields of the waving corn
Blushing in the sunrise when kissed by the dews of the morn,
Landscape dotted with village and hamlet and white church-
spire,

Silently pointing the pilgrim to the life beyond that is higher,
Virtue, contentment and thrift here in peace and unity dwell,
Voices of air and wood in chorus their gladness tell.
Nature and bounty of heaven and labor of man unite
Every creature to please and every sense to delight.

Fair is the scene as Eden, with verdure and color and bloom,
Bearing alas! in story, the blight of Eden's doom,
Stained with the serpent's trail like the fairest spot on earth,
Even as sin and self-love pollute the highest worth.
Dreadful deed of rapine and blood, in the long ago,
Done in wanton cruelty that froze the heart with woe:

Origin of the legend of Tulpehocken's pearl,
Tale of Regina, the lost, the German captive girl.
Typical is the story of a soul that is lost in sin,
Showing the power of prayer and love the lost back to win,
So at least it would seem to those of religious mind,
Since her religion and love helped the mother her child to
find.

Wondrous indeed is the infinite love of the parent heart,
Nothing so charming and fair in all the realm of art.
Ye that have hearts, and disdain not the muse to be beguiled,
Hark to the touching story of the German captive child.

(Unfinished poem of Lee L. Grumbine.)

Appendix A.

(From the Reading "Eagle," Dec. 8, 1901.)

PROPOSED MONUMENT TO REGINA HARTMAN.

TAKEN CAPTIVE BY THE INDIANS 146 YEARS AGO AND
HELD 9 YEARS—AN EARLY ROMANCE OF BERKS.

Orwigsburg: There is a movement on foot among the public school teachers and pupils in this town to contribute money towards the erection of a monument to the memory of Regina Hartman, who lived with her parents here and was taken captive by the Indians and held by them 9 years, when she was restored to her mother under peculiar circumstances.

A photograph taken by Arthur J. Garrett, aged 13 years, son of G. W. Garrett, cashier of the First National Bank, here, shows the "Hartman Spring," and a few yards therefrom the crumbling walls of the once happy home of the Hartman family. This place is regarded as an historic spot. Many a person recalls when, seated on grandfather's knee, the pathetic Hartman family tragedy was related and listened to with the greatest interest.

As early as 1747 George Gottfried Orwig and his wife had emigrated from Germany and taken up their residence at Sculp Hill, near Orwigsburg. In 1786, his son, Peter, laid out a tract into town lots and called it Orwigsburg.

John Hartman was born in 1713, in an ancient farm house near the beautiful and historic city of Reutlingen, Württemberg. When a young man he married Magdalena Swartz.

They lived happily together on the old homestead several years. They had often heard of America. Mr. Hartman had a maternal uncle, Frederick Schoener, who had gone to America and settled in Pennsylvania, and from whom the Hartman family had received letters. One of these letters, addressed to the young man's father, was as follows, and was read and re-read by the young married man :

"Heidelberg, Berks County, Pa., June 17, 1753 - To George Hartman, near Reutlingen, Kingdom of Wirtemberg, Germany.

Dear Brother-in-law :

"This is to inform you that we are well and well pleased with America. We live in a good land, where everything is plenty, and we have schools and churches. I hope you will come to this promised land. We live about 4 German miles from Reading. If you write, address as above.

Yours in bretherly love,

FREDERICK SCHOENER."

This letter made a lasting impression on John Hartman's mind, and he decided to go to America. After 64 days of tedious voyage, he and his family arrived at Philadelphia, June 20, 1754. Seeking for several weeks an advantageous location, he decided to go to Reading, thence to some point near the Blue Mountains. He had four children, all born in Germany : George, Barbara, Regina and Christian. These were his treasures, and he and his wife prayed for them and set them a good and pious example. They left Philadelphia about the last of June, with a farmer who had taken wheat to the city in a 4-horse wagon. This man was to haul them to Heidelberg, Berks County, near where Courad Weiser lived. The oldest residents said that the persons for whom they sought had moved over the Blue Mountains. This was sad news for Hartman, but he was not discouraged. He put his trust in God. He met an old soldier who advised him to cross the Blue Mountains. Mr. Hartman and his family accordingly went. He had purchased an old wagon and two horses, for 27 pounds, six shilling and eight pence, and in

this they journeyed until they arrived at the spring where the crystal water poured in profusion, the site of Orwigsburg. "Here," says Hartman, "here is our home. Here in the name of the Lord will we pitch our tent." They were soon comfortably located in their little home. The only addition to the membership of the household was a large dog, which the children named Wasser.

Here in the solitude of the forest, which was at that time included in the county of Berks, this much forgotten pioneer family lived religiously happy. The only books that constituted their library were a Lutheran Catechism, a Bible and a German hymn book. An almost daily scene was the happy family seated by the hearthstone, reading the Bible and singing the old German hymn: "Allein, und doch nicht allein, bin ich," etc. In English:

"Alone, and not alone am I,
Though in this solitude so drear;
I feel my Saviour always nigh;
He comes the weary hours to cheer;
I am with Him, and He with me,
Ev'en here alone I cannot be."

This section of Pennsylvania was frequently overrun by the Indians, who had been incited to bloody deeds by the French, after the loss of the Canadian territory. Hence, during the French and Indian war, the few scattering inhabitants contiguous to the Blue Mountains were often alarmed. At breakfast on the morning of October 16, 1755, Mr. Hartman's wife said: "Well, John, you know the flour is all gone, and some one must go to the mill. You are seeding the last field, and suppose you let Christian go, I will go with him, for I have long since promised to go over and see Mrs. Swartz."

She was permitted to go, and George and his father finished seeding that day.

Mrs. Hartman and her son started through the dense forest to the mill, the present site of Schuylkill Haven. Barbara, aged ten years, and Regina, aged nine, were left to take care of the household. While they were seated around the table, the father, George, Barbara and Regina, conversing,

suddenly Wasser, their faithful dog, came running in. Hartman seized his rifle, but 15 Indians entered the home, killed Hartman and his son, George, while Barbara and Regina were made captives, and the house was laid in ashes.

It was never known what became of Barbara, but Regina was given to an old Indian woman. She sent her into the woods to hunt roots and herbs, and when she did not get enough she was beaten. In 1764 Col. Bouquet conquered the Indians and peace to them was granted on condition that all the white prisoners should be given to him. More than 400 were brought to him, and among them was Regina, now about 19 years old. The Colonel took the children to Carlisle and had it printed in the newspapers that the parents of children who had been taken captive by the Indians, should come and see whether they were among them. Several thousand husbands and parents went hundreds of miles in hope of meeting lost wives or children. When Regina's sorrowing mother got to Carlisle she did not recognize her daughter, as she had grown up, looked, dressed and spoke like the Indians. The woman went up and down among the captives weeping and could not find her child. Col. Bouquet asked her whether she recollected nothing by which her daughter might be discovered. She said she recollected nothing but a hymn which she used to sing to her children, "Alone, Yet-Not Alone Am I," etc. The Colonel asked her to sing the hymn. Scarcely had she sung two lines of it, when poor Regina rushed from the crowd, began to sing it also, and threw herself into her mother's arms. They both wept for joy, and Col. Bouquet gave up the daughter to the mother. Tradition says that Regina is buried by the side of her mother in Christ Lutheran Cemetery, near Stouchsburg.

Appendix B.

Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg's Account of Regina, the German Captive, translated from the original in German by Rev. John W. Early, Reading, Pa., for the writer of this paper, and first published in the Daily "Report," Lebanon, Pa., April 13, 1903.

Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg's Account of Remarkable Incidents in his Administration of the Pastor's office. Hall. N. Vol. 2. pp. 445-493.

The Twenty-sixth Incident (case) H. N. Old. Ed. 1029. Vol. 11. p. 479. ff.

In February, 1765, a widow and her adult daughter from Rev. Kurtz's congregation came to (see me.) This visit cheered me very much because of the peculiar circumstances of the case. The widow spoken of was a native of the old and renowned Imperial City Reutlingen in the Duchy of Wuertemburg, and her deceased husband (was born) about twelve miles from Tuebingen. Before the war broke out in this country, they, with their small family of children came hither and sought a home in the interior of Pennsylvania about one hundred miles from Philadelphia. The father was already advanced in years, and too feeble to endure hard labor, but endeavored to instruct his children in the Word of God, because in the thinly settled country districts few schools are to be found, or none at all.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

In the summer of the year 1755 the English General Braddock with his army was defeated by the French and the hostile Indians in the wilderness, because the English fought according to European methods and the Indians after the American. Immediately thereupon the hostile savages in-

vaded the remote districts of Pennsylvania and butchered the scattered and defenceless inhabitants, consisting mostly of poor German families, dragging their children through the trackless wilderness into captivity, in their huts and caves. October 16, 1755, this fate also befel the above named Christian family, together with a number of our brethren in the faith. The mother, the widow now still living, and one of the sons had gone to a mill a few miles distance to secure the grinding of some grain; the father, together with the oldest son, and the two little daughters remained at home. The savages suddenly fell upon them (the house) slaying the father and the son in their usual barbarous manner. But they spared the two little girls, Barbara, twelve years of age, and Regina, going on ten, bound them, and dragged them aside into the forest, leaving several Indians to guard the children. Within a few days the others (Indians) continued to bring an additional number of captive children together.

FLIGHT OF THE MOTHER.

After the mother and son returned home from the mill, and found everything burned and in ruins, they fled further inland (down) to Rev. Pastor Kurtz's congregation. The savages now having brought a good number of children, some of them set out with them (the children) towards their own country, not by the usually travelled paths, but through rough and unsettled sections, so that they might not be taken from them. The larger children were compelled to carry the smaller ones, who were strapped to their backs. Now they pursued their tiresome journey, barefooted, over brushes, stones, briars, undergrowth (copse), through mire and swamps. Some children's feet were worn to the quick, laying bare the bones and tendons: so that they thought they must die because of the agony and the sufferings which they endured. But they were urged on mercilessly. In going through the brushes and thickets their clothing was torn into shreds and at last fell from them altogether. When they finally reached the country inhabited by the savages they were divided among them, one being given to a family here and another to another several miles further on. It is the custom among these people, if perchance parents are deprived of their children in war, that they are replaced by captives taken by them.

END OF REGINA'S JOURNEY.

When they had now proceeded about four hundred English miles the younger ten year-old daughter, Regina, was

separated from her sister, Barbara, who had been handed over (to her family), and was compelled to go more than one hundred miles further, with a two-year-old child which she was compelled to carry, strapped to her back. Finally Regina also reached the end of her journey, and together with the child which she was carrying, was given over to an old ill-tempered Indian squaw, who had but one son as her support, to be her slave for life. But he (the son) oftentimes did not return home for a week or even a longer period, and so neglected (to provide for) his mother. In consequence of this the old woman demanded that Regina should provide sustenance, or be put to death. The little helpless infant also clung to Regina and looked to her for comfort. They were entirely destitute of clothing, and the supply of provisions was very scant. When the worthless son was not at home Regina was expected to see to everything if she did not wish to be scolded and beaten by the old hag (Woelfin). It was, therefore, necessary for her to drag together the wood by which they were warmed. When the ground was open she looked for and dug up all manner of wild roots, e. g., artichokes, garlic, &c., and gathered the tender bark of trees and vegetables to preserve the family alive. When there was frost in the ground she hunted all kinds of living creatures such as wild rats, field mice, and other animals which she was able to capture, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

FOR NINE LONG YEARS.

For more than nine years, she, together with the other little girl, was compelled to continue in this mode of life, not knowing whether she should ever return again.

Through the first terrible calamity, when she was deprived of her father, mother, brothers and sister, she was naturally benumbed. In the long journey with its attendant cruelties, the deprivation of all the necessities and comforts at the hands of the savages,—in continued fears and the very shadow of death, there was still room for reflection, and she could not do more than preserve an animal existence. When, however, this miserable mode of existence had become second nature, and the powers of the soul were again brought into activity, the prayers, the passages of Scripture, and the sacred hymns which she had learned from her parents, became her chief delight. These divine truths were developed in her soul as a seed which begins to grow, sending its roots downward and the shoots upward; when the genial warmth of the sun causes the earth to produce life. Thus the Word of God,

learned by her, gradually expanded into life, and in her tribulation brought peace, rest, and comfort to her heart. The miserable mode of living was a good assistant and means of restraint to curb the sinful flesh and its growing desires, and the Word of God implanted in her tender youth could so much the more readily promote the growth of the inner life. She stated that during the period of her captivity she had offered her prayers on bended knees, under the trees, numberless times, with the child beside her, uniting in the prayer. Upon almost every occasion during the later years she had a faint assurance and a gleam of hope that she would be released from captivity and brought back to Christian people.

TWO CONSOLING HYMNS.

Among other things the two following hymns had been and still were a constant source of comfort to her: viz., "Jesus Evermore I Love," and "Alone, and Yet Not Alone Am I." When finally, during the year just passed the fierce savages were put to flight, and their homes attacked, especially by the prudent and brave Colonel Bouquet and his victorious army, and were compelled to sue for peace, and to deliver their Christian captives, Regina and her foster child were released with others.

This was a remarkable event; viz: as a large number of captives, were brought to Colonel Bouquet in the midst of the trackless wilderness, the larger part being without any clothing, a beneficent charity was manifested not only by the Colonel himself, but also by his people, in that they cut off the flaps of their coats and waist coats, and cut up their blankets and so on to cover the absolute nakedness of the poor creatures, it being in the midst of winter. Then the kind hearted Colonel Bouquet first brought the larger part of former captives from the country of the savages to the English forts on the Ohio River known as Ft. Pitt. There the same spirit of sympathy and humanity was manifested by the (soldiers of) garrison. Whatever each one could spare of his scanty supply of food and clothing was bestowed upon these poor fellow-creatures to cover their nakedness to protect them against the cold, and to satisfy their hunger. This manifestation of human sympathy and its effects were certainly pleasant to contemplate. For whoever could find anything superfluous in the line of clothing or covering brought it forward: e. g., flaps, capes, sleeves, pockets, collars, &c., not absolutely needed,—extra lengths of blankets, shirts, or cravets, &c. The officers vied with the rank and file of common soldiers in

cutting and sewing. First to clothe their male fellow creatures and afterwards to close up and patch their own garments.

BROUGHT TO CARLISLE.

From Ft. Pitt the crowd (army) of those rescued was finally brought into the province of Pennsylvania to a village named Carlisle. Notice was given in all the papers that whoever had lost friends, relatives, husband, wife, or children, should be on hand and claim their own (by proper signs). Accordingly the above mentioned poor widow with her only yet remaining son journeyed thither. She asked the Commissioners for her little daughter, Regina, describing her as she was when between nine and ten years of age. But she could find no one resembling her among the crowd. For Regina now was more than eighteen years of age, fully grown to womanhood, stout, with the bearing of an Indian, and speaking the language of the savages. The Commissioners asked the mother whether she could not designate some characteristic by which her daughter might be known. The mother replied in German: That her daughter frequently sang the hymn "Jesus I Love Evermore," and "Alone, and Yet Not Alone Am I in My Dread Solitude."

REGINA IS RESTORED.

Hardly had the widow said this when Regina sprang from among the others and repeated the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the hymns named. Finally the mother and daughter fell upon each others necks shedding tears of joy. The mother with her daughter whom she had again found hastened to return home. The little girl for whom Regina had cared, kept looking on and repeated the things which Regina had repeated. But no one could be found who recognized her their own child. Hence it was thought that probably her parents had been murdered. But she was not willing to leave her foster mother and clung affectionately to Regina so that she could not be kept back.

PLEADS FOR THE BOOK.

This happened at Carlisle Dec. 31, 1764. In Feb., 1765, the widow with her daughter came to me, saying that since her return her daughter and continually plead for the book in which the Lord Jesus speaks so kindly to men and they were permitted to speak to Him,—meaning thereby the Bible and the Hymn Book. For this purpose they had come this distance of 60 or 70 miles. A chest (or box) of Bibles had been sent in with the newly arrived ministers, Voight and Krug,

and I cheerfully gave them one, together with money for the purchase of a Hymn Book. As soon as she had taken the Bible—with evident pleasure, I told her to open it and to read to me what first met her eye. She opened it at the First Chapter of Tobit, and read the second verse intelligibly and impressively, viz: "The same was also taken prisoner in the time of Talmanasser, (Emmeneser) King of Assyria, and although prisoner among strangers, yet did he not depart from the Word of the Lord." (This is a translation of Muhlenberg's quotation from the German Bible and not a quotation from our English version.)

REGINA'S WONDERFUL MEMORY.

To me it seemed remarkable that she who had not seen a German book for nine years, and had not read a single syllable during that time, yet had not forgotten how to read, but could do it as well as when she was taken from her parents and carried into captivity in her tenth year. She could still understand German pretty well but could not express herself in it because in regard to matters of every day life, the Indian language had now become her mother tongue.

This again shows how necessary, profitable and advantageous are those schools in which the true Christian doctrine and the example of Christ are impressed upon the minds of the young, and implanted in their hearts. Were the sainted Luther still living, and should he hear that a child from Reutlingen, a free city, which in 1530 stood up so faithfully for the Augsburg Confession, had maintained its spiritual life through the pure Word of God in this far-distant wilderness, he would again heartily praise and glorify God, confidently and trustfully singing again: "The Word they shall still let remain, and not a spark have for it."

Above translation made from the "Hallische Nachrichten" by Rev. J. W. Early, Reading, Pa., for S. P. Heilman, M. D., and by the latter copied from Rev. Early's MS. March 31, 1903.

Appendix C.

Letter of Rev. H. A. Wellier, of Orwigsburg, Pa., to the Orwigsburg "News," Feb. 20, 1903.

HISTORICAL FACTS.

EDITOR ORWIGSBURG NEWS:—

Where did the tragedy, which resulted in the pathetic historical story of "Regina, the German Captive," occur?

This question of provincial local history ~~has~~ again been agitated by the claims published in one of the later numbers of the valued publications of the Lebanon County Historical Society; and since I have seen no authentic general publication of the evidences which establish the LOCUS of this history at Orwigsburg, it may be of interest, if not of value, to relate the same in your columns.

Disclaiming all desire for controversy or criticism; moved alone by a purpose to see historical facts established upon the best attainable evidences rather than upon "inferences," we call attention to the historical error of said Society, arising, no doubt, from a confusion of names and places so far as relates to the residence of the family of Johannes Hartman at the time of the massacre of members of his family, and the captivity of their little Regina.

This reply is challenged by an article on the subject from the pen of its estimable Secretary, Dr. S. P. Heilman, published in the general publication of the Lebanon County Historical Society, and a supporting article in the same publication from the facile pen of that usually painstaking and considerate authority in matters of local history, Mr. H. M. M. Richards, in which the long conceded claims of Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County, Pa., as the place of the tragedy in the Hartman family, October 16th, 1755, are called into question, and an attempt made by "inferences" and "probabilities" to show that the occurrence to which the Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg from the lips of the mother of Regina Hartman, testifies in "Hallische Nachrichten," 1029, (Mann's Edition, Vol. II, p. 479.) and from the pathetic in-

cidents connected therewith, as related to him in boyhood days by his grandmother; the Rev. R. Weiser, in 1856, published an embellished narrative of "Regina, the German Captive," took place in the vicinity of Swatara Gap, in Lebanon County, Pa.

In advancing these claims it is to be noted that the writer of the chief article for the Historical Society, especially, bases his statements of fact largely upon admitted "inferences" and "presumed" probabilities to establish evidence of an historical fact,—a questionable practice always, to say the least, where history and its incidents are to be written. In this they have unfortunately fallen into the same error which some years since trapped some of the local historians of the vicinity of Bern, in Berks County, Pa., by an instinct of pardonable pride, to claim that the Hartman tragedy was enacted near the Schuylkill Gap, in the Blue Mountains, southward from where is now Port Clinton, Pa.;—and which claim bore traces of probability as strong at least as these of the claimants for Lebanon County.

Wanting better historical evidences we might let the claimants from Berks and Lebanon Counties dispute this matter out, and their claims of probability were equally warranted by inferences with a slight advantage perchance to Lebanon, arising from the established fact that an Indian massacre did occur in the vicinity of Swatara Gap about the same time, (Penna. Archives); and Conrad Weiser mentions among others, the residence of a man named Hartman in that locality at the time, who could not be found after the massacre.

But why take valuable space in an attempt to refute claims of a mere "probability," or to answer and debate "inferences" which, for lack of better historical data, led the Historical Society to accept and publish the papers above referred to as establishing history? Suffice it to submit a simple statement of a few established facts, and note a few of the sources of information that have for years been accepted as sufficient evidence to establish the fact that this tragedy and its incidents really did occur in Schuylkill (then Berks) County, where Orwigsburg now is.

1.—The report of Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, (Hallische Nachrichten, 1029), that Johannes Hartman and his family had made their home "in northern Berks, about 100 miles distant from Philadelphia." This, unsupported, might equally apply to the claims of the writers for Lebanon County.

2.—The statement of Rev. R. Weiser, in "Regina, the German Captive," that his grandmother, then residing at Womelsdorf, Pa., had often related the story of the tragedy which befell the Hartmann family, and the pathetic incident of the captivity and return of Regina, which he later embellished and caused to be published:—and always had his relator mentioned Orwigsburg as the place where the massacre occurred. This, unsupported, might well be confuted by Rev. Weiser's own later statement that he had no certain or circumstantial information as to the locus.

3.—The records of Zion's Church, in West Brunswick Township, one and a half miles distant south-eastwardly from Orwigsburg, and spoken historically as "Die Zion's Kirche, ueber den Blauen Bergen, on der Skoolkill in Berks," (vid. Lutheran Observer, Vol. LII, No. 2, p. 3), relate how in the "fall" of the year 1755,—the settlers having just finished building and dedicating their first "log church" during the summer,—"The wild heathen of the wilderness" came upon the communities in this section with tomahawk, gun and fire, massacring the people and laying their homes in ashes. It was at this time that their "log house," where Zion's Church now stands, was burned to the ground; and history speaks of the flight of those who could escape across the Blue Mountains in Maxatawny and Bern Townships, Berks County, as "the skeedaddle." These ancient records have never been disputed, though, it is true, Muhlenberg made no report of the existence of this church to Halle, which is readily accounted for when the fact is considered that the pastor who assisted these early settlers was one of those not in affiliation with the work of the Pioneer of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and usually termed "vagabond preachers who stir the waters for the loaves and fishes." Be this as it may, accurate and accepted accounts of the building, dedication, and destruction of that first "log church" were recorded when after "the skeedaddle" of the fall and winter of 1755, the survivors of those horrors returned and rebuilt their church on the same spot; and this record, some of it only fragmentary now, is still in the archives of the church. Unfortunately for our immediate purpose the membership record, if any existed in 1755, has been lost, but, what there is, is sufficient to all seekers for historical data to establish the fact that "in the all of the year 1755, a frightful massacre by the wild Indians enacted in the immediate vicinity of the present town of Orwigsburg.

4.—In the printed memoirs of Father Daniel Deibert, (born 1802), published at Schuylkill Haven, Pa., 1884, there is a succinct account of how his grandfather, Wilhelm Deibert, (Deiver), who came with his parents to America, landing at Philadelphia, when Wilhelm was three years old, and resided with them later in their "settlement," in Bern Township, Berks County, Pa., together with his brother, Michael Deibert, when they had grown up, came to Manheim Township, (now Schuylkill County), and in the year 1744, "took up" 300 acres of land in the present North Manheim Township, on the road leading from Schuylkill Haven to Landingville, where are now the farms of Edward Peale and John Filbert, respectively, about two miles southwestwardly from Orwigsburg. How, afterwards, his own father, John, bought 141 acres of land in said township, at the place just westward from Orwigsburg, where is now the James Deibert homestead. Incidentally telling how when Daniel, the writer, was a child four or five years old, his father and mother were clearing land, and used to take the cradle along and the three children into the woods, and "I, the oldest, would keep the locusts from the cradle where the baby rested." (Let it be noted that this was next to or near the former Hartman plantation.) At the age of 21, says the writer, "I worked for my uncle, George Deibert, for six dollars per month, living with him at the time; he was sick at the time and died while I was there. My grandfather Deibert was living with him at that time. He worked at weaving then. He told me many stories about the Indians, how they molested them when they first settled here."

And, now, quoting from this volume of the "Story of the Life of Daniel Deibert," let another render the account of the family of Johannes Hartmann, at Orwigsburg:—"Nearly at the same time, or a few years earlier than my grandfather settled here in Schuylkill County, a German family by the name of Hartmann came from Europe and settled at the place where Orwigsburg now stands. The family consisted of the parents and four children, two boys and two girls. They were a pious and God-fearing family. They went to work and prospered well. One day, in the fall of 1755, Hartman and his eldest son were to finish their sowing. Mrs. Hartmann and the youngest son went to the mill to get some grist done, but little they thought that this should be the last time that they should see each other in this world. At noon, when they were eating dinner, a band of Indians came, fifteen in

number, and killed Hartmann and his eldest son; plundered the house, then set it on fire. The two girls they took along as victims. Towards evening when Mrs. Hartmann came home she found her buildings all in ashes. They burned the bodies of Hartmann and his son; even the dog they threw him into the flames and burned him. The two girls, as above mentioned, they took along, and another little girl, only about three years old, that they took along as a victim from a family named Smith. They murdered the father of that family in the morning; the same day they came to Hartmann's; the girls they took along bare-foot, and soon their feet got sore that they could hardly walk any more; the oldest of the girls got sick and could go no farther, then they killed her with the tomahawk. The two other girls, they wrapped their feet with old cloth and took them along to their camp. Mrs. Hartmann was very much troubled about her husband and children; some hunters found the body of the eldest daughter and buried her. She could comfort herself better over them that were dead, than over the one she knew was among the Indians. She was a praying and God fearing woman and prayed God that he should restore the child to her again; but the years passed on and sometimes she heard that children were taken from the Indians, then she went to see whether she could find her lost daughter. One time she went as far as Pittsburg, but all in vain. So nine long and weary years passed away, and she prayed to God for her lost daughter. One day a man brought her a message that a great many children were taken away from the Indians and they were in the care of a Colonel Boquet at Carlisle. As soon as she heard it she expected to find her long lost daughter there, so she started for Carlisle; when she came there the children were all presented to her but she could not recognize one that might be her daughter; so she spoke to some of them but got no answer, for they could only speak the Indian language. With a heavy heart she thought she had to go home again without her daughter. The Colonel asked her whether she could sing a German hymn they used to sing in their family at home. Then she commenced and sang the hymn "Allein und doch nicht ganz allein bin ich," meaning in English, "Alone and yet not all alone am I." Then a grown up girl sprang to her, fell around her neck and kissed her, and recognized her as her dear mother. No pen can describe the joy when they recognized each other again. What a blessing it is when parents sing and pray in their families with

their children. Near Landingville, at the farm now owned by Daniel Heim, the Indians also took a sister of Martin Woerner along "as a victim," etc., etc.

Speaking of the "skeeeladdle" of the settlers, Daniel Deibert says: "My grandfather and his brother, Michael, had to flee over the Blue Mountains to their father's home. They buried their implements on the other side of the Schuylkill river, in the woods, that the Indians could not get them; but when they came back they did not find them any more, and they did not find them till the Schuylkill Canal was made, then they dug them out."

Among the other accounts of Indian maraudings in those fearful years, 1755-65, Daniel Deibert also mentions the murder of the family of John Finscher, a year later than the massacre of Hartmann and his son, George. This might not be germane here but for the establishment of the fact that it was to John Finscher's mill, at where is now Schuylkill Haven, that Mrs. Hartman had gone with her little son, Christian, on that eventful day when Hammaoslu (the tiger's claw) led his savage band down upon the peace of her heart and home, and Pottowasnos (the boat pusher) carried the shrieking children into the forest journey of their awful captivity. (vid. Penna. Archives, Vol. III, p. 30 and 36, for account of Captain John Morgan and James Reed, Esq., in re the murder of Finscher Family.)

Captain D. C. Henning, in his *TALES OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS*, (1897), well said that "the antiquarian of the future in following the trail of civilization and of empire on its westward way will linger long among these mountains of Schuylkill County and find a field for thought and wonderment," and, we venture to add, not the least of the tales of the first thousand battle grounds that mark the wake of the irrepressible campaign of the westward march will be that of the valley next beyond the Blue Mountains in Pennsylvania and its cross-valley—the Schuylkill—where the savage red-man, stirred to the quick by the memory of their chiefs being made drunken and cheated and taken advantage of in purchases of land, and aroused to a hope of redress when the proud Braddock had fallen in July, 1755, made a stand yet scarce recognized in history; and around the vicinity of that old "Red Church" (Zion's), the future historian will find the deeds enacted, like the massacre of Hartmann, and the nobility of fortitude born like that in the breast of Magdalena Hartmann, that roused lethargic pulses to quicken with the

fire that relentlessly pursued and inch by inch drove the savage "wild heathen of the forest" beyond the confines of the state. And, it may have been prayers like those nine-year-long cries of a widowed mother, that caused heaven to prosper the world-famed battle cry of westward, Ho! which rose lambent over the ashes of pioneers such as these in the valley "ueber den Blauen Bergen an der Skoolkyll in Berks."

It is not mete that I lengthen this paper; for my purpose is only to bid other historical searchers to examine the evidences: first, from the mouth of Magdalena Hartmann, by the pen of Mühlenberg, that the tragedy really occurred; second, not to cast aside the evidences of the massacre which really occurred in this county about Orwigsburg in 1755-1765, as authenticated by the records of the first church in the valley next beyond the mountains, as well as the historical archives of the state; and, third, to inform themselves whether there may not be corroborative evidence like that of the Deiberts, who, were the next door neighbors of Johannes Hartmann and his family, before they accept as conclusive of error the statement of a writer who while he asserts that he had no conclusive proof or circumstantial evidence, yet his grandmother (who, by the way, knew Magdalena Hartmann personally in her latter years,) had told him the story of Regina and the home in Orwigsburg.

Let the searcher for historic truth come and sit with us on the edge of the well that springs where stands the great old pine tree with its corona of a few branches high in the air, about a block or square northward from where the spire of St. Paul's Lutheran Church also points upward to the throne of Him who heard and answered Magdaleua Hartmann's prayers for the safe return of Regina; and, as we sit, we will dip and drink deep a cooling draught from the crystal sparkling spring, while in vision entranced we look and see once again the ending search of nine long years, and behold the released captive Sawquehanna (White Lily, Regina's Indian name) half dispirited by surrounding strangeness come over the hills from Carlisle with her mother at one hand and her Koloska (the Short legged Bear, Indian name of Susan Smith, her companion in captivity,) at the other, until rising over the crest of the last hill that overlooks this sacred spot, the conscious revelation bursts upon the memory-entrained mind, as with hand uplifted and face lit up she cries: "Wasloock! Wasloock!"—The green tree! The green tree!—where she and her sister and mother had spent many happy hours in

early childhood. Then the weary heart of the captive remembered and realized that it was at home with mother. And when the witchery of that historic shot with its halo of the story of Regina shall hold us bound a moment longer ere it vanishes, we shall be convinced that "the wine of sacrifice was not poured in vain when it was poured to preserve that heritage that cost our forefathers and our early motherhood the fearful price they paid for it."

Cordially yours,

H. A. WELLER.

Appendix D.

THE NARRATIVE OF MARIE LE ROY AND BARBARA LEININGER.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

At the Albany Treaty, July 6, 1754, the Six Nations conveyed to Thomas and Richard Penn a purchase, the northern limit of which was to start one mile above the mouth of Penn Creek, where Selinsgrove now stands, and run "northwest and by west as far as the Province of Pennsylvania extends." This line, protracted on the map, bisects Limestone Township, Union County, and, if run on the ground, would probably pass through the very tract of land taken up by Jean Jaques le Roy (father of Marie), now owned by the heirs of Hon. Isaac Slenker, in that township. The Indians alleged afterwards (Weiser's Journal of the Conference at Aughwick, September, 1754) that they did not understand the points of the compass, and if the line was run so as to include the West Branch of the Susquehanna they would never again agree to it. Settlers nevertheless pushed their way up Penn's Creek, and the Proprietaries, with their understanding of the line, issued warrants for surveys along Penn's Creek, in Buffalo Valley, and at least twenty-five families had settled on there as early as 1754. The Indians, emboldened by Braddock's defeat, July 6, 1755, determined to clear out these settlers, and did it so effectually, by the massacre related in the following narrative, that no settlers ventured upon the bloody ground until after the purchase of 1768. In 1770, when Jesse Lukens resurveyed the line of the le Roy tract, he notes in his field book that he passed le Roy's bake oven near the spring, on what is now the Slenker farm. For further notice of this massacre, see Colonial Records, vol. 6, page 647; also Pennsylvania Archives, old series, vol. 3, page 633.¹ The editors are indebted to the courtesy of Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, for the following translation from German of the original narrative, in which the spelling of the Indian and other proper names, according to the original, is retained.

EXAMINATION¹ OF BARBARA LININGEREE
& MARY ROY,² 1759.

They say that they were both Inhabitants of this Province, and lived on John Penn's Creek, near George Gabriels. That on the 16th October, 1755, a Party of fourteen Indians fell upon the Inhabitants at that Creek by Surprise and killed fifteen, and took & carried off Prisoners Examnants, and Eight more, viz: Jacob Roy, Brother of Mary Roy, Rachel Liningeree, Sister of Barbara, Marian Wheeler, Hannah, Wife of of Jacob Breylinger, & two of her children, (one of which dyed at Kittannin of hunger,) Peter Lick & two of his sons, named John & William.

The names of the Indians were Kechkinnyperlin, Joseph Compass, & young James Compass; young Thos. Hickman, One Kalasuuay, Souchy, Machynego, Katoochquay.

These Examnants were carried to the Indian Town Kittanning where they staid till September, 1756, and where in ye Fort opposite thereto wu Col. Armstrong burn'd it. Thence were carried to Fort Duquesne, and many other Women & Children, they think an hundred who were carried away from ye several Provinces of P. M. & V. Six hundred French & 100 Indians at Fort Duquesne. They staid two months & wu were carried to Saucany, 25 miles below, at ye mouth of Big Beaver Creek. In the Spring, 1757, they were carried to Kuskusky, up Beaver Creek, 25 miles, where they staid till they heard yt the English were marching agt Duquesne, & then ye Indians quitted Kuskusky & took these Examnants wth them to Muskingham, as they think 150 miles.

On the 16th March made their Escape, & got into Pitts-burgh on the 31st.

That Six Indians, Hurous, from Ellamaton, came to

¹ In many cases returned captives were taken before the Executive Council of the Province and examined, hence styled "Examnants," and affidavits attached to the statements made. The above examination was made by said Council in session at New Castle, Monday, May 7, 1759.

² In the original narrative these names are Barbara Leininger and Marie le Roy.

³ Rachel, often corrupted into "Die Raitsche," was often a substitute name for Regina. It occurs very rarely amongst Germans of that period except amongst those of Jewish descent. Regina, whilst purely Latin, was probably adapted more directly from the Swabian, Reghina and was used nearly as frequently as Anna, Maria (or Mary), Catharine, Barbara, &c.

Muskingham & said to the Delawares if they had a mind to make peace with the English they wou'd make peace likewise, if they wou'd not they wou'd join them in going to War.

That the Indians in conversation said the English were fatening at Pittsburg, & wou'd be fat by and by, & yn they wou'd kill them.

That Pisqueloman does not appear to them to be hearty for ye English, but to be false hearted.

THE NARRATIVE.

Marie le Roy was born at Brondrüt, in Switzerland. About five years ago she arrived, with her parents in this country.¹ They settled fifteen miles from Fort "Schamockin". Half a mile from their plantation lived Barbara Leininger with her parents, who came to Pennsylvania from Reutlingen, about ten years ago.²

Early in the morning of the 16th of October, 1755, while le Roy's hired man went out to fetch the cows, he heard the Indians shooting six times. Soon after, eight of them came to the house, and killed Marie le Roy's father with tomahawks. Her brother defended himself desperately, for a time, but was, at last, overpowered. The Indians did not kill him, but took him prisoner, together with Marie le Roy and a little girl, who was staying with the family. Thereupon they plundered the homestead, and set it on fire. Into this fire they laid the body of the murdered father, feet foremost, until it was half consumed. The upper half was left lying on the ground, with the two tomahawks, with which they had killed him, sticking in his head. Then they kindled another fire, not far from the house. While sitting around it, a neighbour of le Roy, named Bastian, happened to pass by on horseback. He was immediately shot down and scalped.

Two of the Indians now went to the house of Barbara Leininger, where they found her father, her brother,³ and

¹ Jean Jaques le Roy came to Pennsylvania on the ship Phoenix, Capt. R. Horner, from Rotterdam via Cowes, Nov. 22, 1752.

² i. e. Fort Augusta, now Sunbury.

³ Sebastian Leininger, aged 50, with his family, arrived Sept. 16, 1748, on the ship Patience, Capt. John Brown.

A few of the annotations are by Dr. John W. Jordan Editor of the Penna Magazine of Hist. and Biog. and some by Capt. H. M. M. Richards, author of "The Pennsylvania Germans in the French and Indian War," the larger number by the translator.

¹ John Conrad Leininger

her sister, Regina. Her mother had gone to the mill. They demanded rum; but there was none in the house. Then they called for tobacco, which was given them. Having filled and smoked a pipe, they said: "We are Alleghany Indians, and your enemies. You must all die!" Thereupon they shot her father, tomahawked her brother, who was twenty years of age, took Barbara and her sister, Regina, prisoners, and conveyed them into the forest for about a mile. There they were soon joined by other Indians, with Marie le Roy and the little girl.

Not long after several of the Indians led the prisoners to the top of a high hill, near the two plantations. Toward evening the rest of the savages returned with fresh and bloody scalps, which they threw at the feet of the poor captives, saying that they had a good hunt that day.

The next morning we were taken about two miles further into the forest, while the most of the Indians again went out to kill and plunder. Toward evening they returned with nine scalps and five prisoners.

On the third day the whole band came together and divided the spoils. In addition to large quantities of provisions, they had taken fourteen horses and ten prisoners, namely: One man, one woman, five girls, and three boys. We two girls, as also two of the horses, fell to the share of an Indian named Galasko.²

We traveled with our new master for two days. He was tolerably kind, and allowed us to ride all the way, while he and the rest of the Indians walked. Of this circumstance Barbara Leininger took advantage, and tried to escape. But she was almost immediately recaptured, and condemned to be burned alive. The savages gave her a French Bible, which they had taken from le Roy's house, in order that she might prepare for death; and, when she told them that she could not understand it, they gave her a German Bible. Thereupon they made a large pile of wood and set it on fire, intending to put her into the midst of it. But a young Indian begged so earnestly for her life that she was pardoned, after having promised not to attempt to escape again, and to stop her crying.

2. It is here that the two sisters, Barbara and Regina Leininger, became separated. Barbara Leininger and Marie le Roy, with other prisoners, being allotted to one company of Indians, and Regina Leininger, and the unnamed little girl, with other prisoners, to another company of Indians. We have no evidence that Barbara and Regina ever saw each other again. S. P. 41.

The next day the whole troop was divided into two bands, the one marching in the direction of the Ohio, the other, in which we were with Galasko, to Jenkiklamhhs,¹ a Delaware town on the West branch of the Susquehanna. There we staid ten days, and then proceeded to Puncksotonay,² or Eschentowin. Marie le Roy's brother was forced to remain at Jenkiklamhhs.

After having rested for five days at Puncksotonay, we took our way to Kittanny.³ As this was to be the place of our permanent abode, we here received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us. The month of December was the time of our arrival, and we remained at Kittanny until the month of September, 1756.

The Indians gave us enough to do. We had to tan leather, to make shoes (moccasins), to clear land, to plant corn, to cut down trees and build huts, to wash and cook. The want of provisions, however, caused us the greatest sufferings. During all the time that we were at Kittanny we had neither lard nor salt; and, sometimes, we were forced to live on acorns, roots, grass, and bark. There was nothing in the world to make this new sort of food palatable, excepting hunger itself.

In the month of September Col. Armstrong arrived with his men, and attacked Kittanny Town.⁴ Both of us happened to be in that part of it which lies on the other (right) side of the river (Alleghany). We were immediately conveyed ten miles farther into the interior, in order that we might have no chance of trying, on this occasion, to escape. The savages threatened to kill us. If the English had advanced, this might have happened. For, at that time, the Indians were greatly in dread of Col. Armstrong's corps.

¹ Chinklacamoose, the central point of the great "Chinklacamoose Path," on the present site of Clearfield.

² Punxsutawny, in Jefferson County.

³ Kittanning, in Armstrong County, through which passed the great trail, by which the Indians of the West communicated with those of the Susquehanna country.

⁴ In August of 1756, Col. John Armstrong fitted out his expedition at Fort Shirley. The Delaware war chief, Capt. Jacobs, lived in the town.

After the English had withdrawn, we were again brought back to Kittanny, which town had been burned to the ground.

There we had the mournful opportunity of witnessing the cruel end of an English woman, who had attempted to flee out of her captivity and to return to the settlements with Col. Armstrong. Having been recaptured by the savages, and brought back to Kittanny, she was put to death in an unheard of way. First, they scalped her; next, they laid burning splinters of wood, here and there, upon her body; and then they cut off her ears and fingers, forcing them into her mouth so that she had to swallow them. Amidst such torments, this woman lived from nine o'clock in the morning until toward sunset, when a French officer took compassion on her, and put her out of her misery. An English soldier, on the contrary, named John ———, who escaped from prison at Lancaster and joined the French, had a piece of flesh cut from her body, and ate it. When she was dead, the Indians chopped her in two, through the middle, and let her lie until the dogs came and devoured her.

Three days later an Englishman was brought in, who had, likewise, attempted to escape with Col. Armstrong, and burned alive in the same village. His torments, however, continued only about three hours, but his screams were frightful to listen to. It rained that day very hard, so that the Indians could not keep up the fire. Hence they began to discharge gunpowder into his body. At last, amidst his worst pains, when the poor man called for a drink of water, they brought him melted lead, and poured it down his throat. This draught at once helped him out of the hands of the barbarians, for he died on the instant.

It is easy to imagine what an impression such fearful instances of cruelty make upon the mind of a poor captive. Does he attempt to escape from the savages, he knows in advance that, if retaken, he will be roasted alive. Hence he must compare two evils, namely, either to remain among them a prisoner forever, or to die a cruel death. Is he fully resolved to endure the latter, then he may run away with a brave heart.

Soon after these occurrences we were brought to Fort Duquesne, where we remained for about two months. We worked for the French, and our Indian master drew our wages. In this place, thank God, we could again eat bread. Half a pound was given us daily. We might have had bacon,

too, but we took none of it, for it was not good. In some respects we were better off than in the Indian town; we could not, however, abide the French. They tried hard to induce us to forsake the Indians and stay with them, making us various favourable offers. But we believed that it would be better for us to remain among the Indians, in as much as they would be more likely to make peace with the English than the French, and in as much as there would be more ways open for flight in the forest than in a fort. Consequently we declined the offers of the French, and accompanied our Indian master to Sackum,¹ where we spent the winter, keeping house for the savages, who were continually on the hunt. In the spring we were taken to Kaschkaschkung,² an Indian town on the Beaver Creek. There we again had to clear the plantations of the Indian nobles, after the German fashion, to plant corn, and to do other hard work of every kind. We remained at this place for about one year and a half.

After having, in the past three years, seen no one of our own flesh and blood, except those unhappy beings, who, like ourselves, were bearing the yoke of the heaviest slavery, we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with a German, who was not a captive, but free, and who, as we heard, had been sent into this neighbourhood to negotiate a peace between the English and the natives. His name was Frederick Post.³ We and all the other prisoners heartily wished him success and God's blessing upon his undertaking. We were, however, not allowed to speak with him. The Indians gave us plainly to understand that any attempt to do this would be taken amiss. He himself, by the reserve with which he treated us, let us see that this was not the time to talk over our afflictions. But we were greatly alarmed on his account. For the French told us that, if they caught him, they would roast him alive for five days, and many Indians declared that it was impossible for him to get safely through, that he was destined for death.

Last summer the French and Indians were defeated by

¹ Saukunks, 8 miles below Logstown, outlet of the Big Beaver into the Ohio, a point well-known to all the Indians; their rendezvous in the French wars.

² Kaskaskunk, near the junction of the Shenango and Mahony, in Lawrence County.

³ Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary. Post in his Journal, under date of August 20, 1758, records his experience at Sackum. (Reichel) See Post's Journal, Penna. Archives, O. S. Vol. 3, page 527.

the English in a battle fought at Loyal Hannon,¹ or Fort Ligonier. This caused the utmost consternation among the natives. They brought their wives and children from Locks town,² Sackum, Sehomingo, Mammaly, Kaschkaschkung, and other places in that neighbourhood, to Moschkingo,³ about one hundred and fifty miles farther west. Before leaving, however, they destroyed their crops, and burned everything which they could not carry with them. We had to go along, and staid at Moschkingo the whole winter.

In February, Barbara Leininger agreed with an Englishman, named David Breckenreach (Breckenridge), to escape, and gave her comrade, Marie le Roy, notice of their intentions. On account of the severe season of the year, and the long journey which lay before them, Marie strongly advised her to relinquish the project, suggesting that it should be postponed until spring, when the weather would be milder, and promising to accompany her at that time.

On the last day of February nearly all the Indians left Moschkingo, and proceeded to Pittsburg to sell pelts. Meanwhile, their woman traveled ten miles up the country to gather roots, and we accompanied them. Two men went along as a guard. It was our earnest hope that the opportunity for flight, so long desired, had now come. Accordingly, Barbara Leininger pretended to be sick, so that she might be allowed to put up a hut for herself alone. On the fourteenth of March, Marie le Roy was sent back to the town, in order to fetch two young dogs which had been left there; and, on the same day, Barbara Leininger came out of her hut and visited a German woman, ten miles from Moschkingo. This woman's name is Mary ———, and she is the wife of a miller from the South Branch.⁴ She had made every preparation to accompany us on our flight; but Barbara found that she had meanwhile become lame, and could not think of going along. She, however, gave Barbara the provisions which she had stored, namely, two pounds of dried meat, a quart of corn, and four pounds of sugar. Besides, she presented her with pelts for moccasins. Moreover, she advised a young Englishman, Owen Gibson, to flee with us two girls.

On the sixteenth of March, in the evening, Gibson

¹ Loyalhanning.

² Logstown, on the Ohio, eight miles above Beaver. Weiser's Journal.

³ Muskingum.

⁴ South Branch of the Potomac.

reached Barbara Leininger's hut, and, at ten o'clock, our whole party, consisting of us two girls, Gibson, and David Breckenreach, left Moschkingo. This town lies on a river, in the country of the Dellamottinoes. We had to pass many huts inhabited by the savages, and knew that there were at least sixteen dogs with them. In the merciful providence of God not a single one of these dogs barked. Their barking would at once have betrayed us, and frustrated our design.

It is hard to describe the anxious fears of a poor woman under such circumstances. The extreme probability that the Indians would pursue, and recapture us, was as two to one compared with the dim hope that, perhaps, we would get through in safety. But, even if we escaped the Indians, how would we ever succeed in passing through the wilderness, unacquainted with a single path or trail, without a guide, and helpless, half naked, broken down by more than three years of hard slavery, hungry and scarcely any food, the season wet and cold, and many rivers and streams to cross? Under such circumstances, to depend upon one's own sagacity would be the worst of follies. If one could not believe that there is a God, who helps and saves from death, one had better let running away alone.

We safely reached the river (Muskingum). Here the first thought in all our minds was: O! that we were safely across! And Barbara Leininger, in particular, recalling ejaculatory prayers from an old hymn, which she had learned in her youth, put them together, to suit our present circumstances, something in the following style:

O bring us safely across the river!
In fear I cry, yea my soul doth quiver.
The worst afflictions are now before me,
Where'er I turn nought but death do I see.
Alas, what great hardships are yet in store
In the wilderness wide, beyond that shore!
It has neither water, nor meat, nor bread,
But each new morning something new to dread.
Yet little sorrow would hunger me cost
If but I could flee from the savage host,
Which murders and fights and burns far and wide,
While Satan himself is array'd on its side.
Should on us fall one of its cruel bands,
Then help us, Great God, and stretch out Thy hands!
In Thee will we trust, be Thou ever near,
Art Thou our Joshua, we need not fear.

Presently we found a raft, left by the Indians. Thanking God that He had Himself prepared a way for us across these first waters, we got on board and pushed off. But we were carried almost a mile down the river before we could reach the other side. There our journey began in good earnest. Full of anxiety and fear, we fairly ran that whole night and all the next day, when we lay down to rest without venturing to kindle a fire. Early the next morning, Owen Gibson fired at a bear. The animal fell, but, when he ran with his tomahawk to kill it, it jumped up and bit him in the feet, leaving three wounds. We all hastened to his assistance. The bear escaped into narrow holes among the rocks, where we could not follow. On the third day, however, Owen Gibson shot a deer. We cut off the hind-quarters, and roasted them at night. The next morning he again shot a deer, which furnished us with food for that day. In the evening we got to the Ohio at last, having made a circuit of over one hundred miles in order to reach it.

About midnight the two Englishmen rose and began to work at a raft, which was finished by morning. We got on board and safely crossed the river. From the signs which the Indians had there put up we saw that we were about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. After a brief consultation we resolved, heedless of path or trail, to travel straight toward the rising of the sun. This we did for several days. On the seventh we found that we had reached the Little Beaver Creek, and were about fifty miles from Pittsburgh.

And now, that we imagined ourselves so near the end of all our troubles and misery, a whole host of mishaps came upon us. Our provisions were at an end; Barbara Leininger fell into the water and was nearly drowned; and, worst misfortune of all! Owen Gibson lost his flint and steel. Hence we had to spend four nights without fire, amidst rain and snow.

On the last day of March we came to a river, Allegheny,¹ about three miles below Pittsburgh. Here we made a raft, which, however, proved to be too light to carry us across. It threatened to sink, and Marie le Roy fell off, and narrowly escaped drowning. We had to put back, and let one of our men convey one of us across at a time. In this way we reached the Monongahela river, on the other side of Pittsburgh, the same evening.

¹ Allegheny.

Upon our calling for help, Col. (Hugh) Mercer immediately sent out a boat to bring us to the Fort. At first, however, the crew created many difficulties about taking us on board. They thought we were Indians, and wanted us to spend the night where we were, saying they would fetch us in the morning. When we had succeeded in convincing them that we were English prisoners, who had escaped from the Indians, and that we were wet and cold and hungry, they brought us over. There was an Indian with the soldiers in the boat. He asked us whether we could speak good Indian? Marie le Roy said she could speak it. Thereupon he inquired, why she had run away? She replied, that her Indian mother had been so cross and had scolded her so constantly, that she could not stay with her any longer.

This answer did not please him; nevertheless, doing as courtiers do, he said: He was very glad we had safely reached the Fort.

It was in the night from the last of March to the first of April that we came to Pittsburg. Most heartily did we thank God in heaven for all the mercy which he showed us, for His gracious support in our weary captivity, for the courage which He gave us to undertake our flight, and to surmount all the many hardships it brought us, for letting us find the road which we did not know, and of which He alone could know that on it we would meet neither danger nor enemy, and for finally bringing us to Pittsburg to our countrymen in safety.

Colonel Mercer helped and aided us in every way which lay in his power. Whatever was on hand and calculated to refresh us was offered in the most friendly manner. The Colonel ordered for each of us a new chemise, a petticoat, a pair of stockings, garters, and a knife - After having spent a day at Pittsburg, we went, with a detachment under command of Lieutenant Miles,¹ to Fort Ligonier. There the Lieutenant presented each of us with a blanket. On the fifteenth we left Fort Ligonier, under protection of Captain (Philip) Weiser and Lieutenant Atly,² for Fort Bedford, where we arrived in the evening of the sixteenth, and remained a week. Thence, provided with passports by Lieutenant (Henry) Geiger, we traveled in wagons to Harris' Ferry, and from there, afoot, by way of Lancaster, to Philadelphia.

¹ Lieut. Samuel Miles, of the "Augusta Regiment," Col. William Chapman.

² Lieut. Samuel J. Atlee.

Owen Gibson remained at Fort Bedford, and David Breckenreach at Lancaster. We two girls arrived in Philadelphia on Sunday, the sixth of May.

And now we come to the chief reason why we have given the foregoing narrative to the public. It is not done in order to render our own sufferings and humble history famous, but rather in order to serve the inhabitants of this country, by making them acquainted with the names and circumstances of those prisoners whom we met, at the various places where we were, in the course of our captivity. Their parents, brothers, sisters, and other relations will, no doubt, be glad to hear that their nearest kith and kin are still in the land of the living, and that they may, hence, entertain some hope of seeing them again in their own homes, if God permit.

MARIA BASKET is at Kaschkaschkung. She was taken prisoner on the Susquehanna, where her husband was killed. She has two sons. The younger is with his mother; the elder is in a distant Indian town.

Mary Basket's sister,—her name is NANCY BASKET,—is at Sackuni.

MARY, CAROLINE, AND CATHARINE HAETH,¹ three sisters, from the Blue Mountains.

ANNE GRAY, who was captured at Fort Granville,² is at Kaschkaschkung. We saw her daughter, but she has been taken farther west by the Indians.

JOHN WEISSMAN, a young unmarried Englishman, about eighteen years of age, is now at Moschkingo. He is said to have been captured on the South Branch.

SARAH BOY, DAVID BOY, RHODE BOY, THOMAS BOY, AND JAMES BOY, five children. The youngest is about five or six years old; Sarah, the oldest, is about fifteen or sixteen years of age. Three years ago they were captured in Virginia.

NANCY AND JOHANNA DACHERTY, two sisters, aged about ten and six years, captured at Conecocheague, and now in Kaschkaschkung.

EVE ISAACS, WILLIAM ISAACS AND CATHARINE ISAACS. Eve is a widow, and has a child of about four years with her. Her husband was killed by the Indians. William is about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and Catharine about twelve. They are Germans. Eve and her child, together with Cath-

¹ Hoeth, of Northampton County. (Reichel)

² Fort Granville, one mile west of Lewistown, on the Juniata

arine, are in Kaschkaschkung; William in Moschkingo. They were captured on the South Branch.

HENRY SEIFFART, ELIZABETH SEIFFART, GEORGE SEIFFART, CATHARINE SEIFFART, AND MARIA SEIFFART, brothers and sisters, Germans, captured about thirteen months ago, at Southport, in Virginia, are now at Kaschkaschkung and Moschkingo.

BETTY ROGERS, an unmarried woman, with five or six brothers and sisters, of whom the youngest is about four years old, captured three and a half years ago, on the South Branch.

BETTY FRICK, a girl about twenty two years old, captured, three years ago, in Virginia, now in Kaschkaschkung.

FANNY FLARDY, from Virginia, married to a Frenchman. Her daughter, seven or eight years old, is at Kaschkaschkung.

ANNA BRIELINGER,¹ wife of a German smith from Schomoko, now at Kaschkaschkung.

PETER LINE'S² TWO SONS, JOHN AND WILLIAM, German children from Schomoko, now in Kitahohing.

An old Englishman, or Irishman, whose surname we do not know, but whose Christian name is DAN, a cooper, captured on the Susquehanna, now in Kaschkaschkung. His wife and children are said to be in this country.

ELIZABETH, a young English woman, captured about a mile and a half from Justice Gulebret's (Galbraith) place, on the Swatara. Her child, which she took along, is dead. Her husband and other children are said to be living somewhere in this country. She is at Kaschkaschkung.

MARIE PECK, a German woman, captured, two and a half years ago, in Maryland. Her husband and children are said to be living somewhere in this country.

MARGARET BROWN, a German single woman, captured on the South Branch, in Virginia, now in the country of the Oschaschi, a powerful nation, living, it is said, in a land where there is no timber.

MARY ANN VILLARS, from French Switzerland, a girl of fifteen years, was captured with Marie le Roy, has a brother and sister living near Lancaster.

*SALLY WOOD, a single woman, aged eighteen or nineteen

¹ Wife of Jacob Brielinger, who lived on Penn's Creek, two miles below New Berlin, in Union County.

² Peter Lick, of Penn's Creek, near New Berlin.

years, captured in Virginia, three and a half years ago, now in Sackum.

Two young men, brothers, named IXON, the one about twenty, the other about fifteen years old, at Kaschkaschkung. Their mother was sold to the French.

MARY LORY AND JAMES LORY, brother and sister, the first about fourteen, the second about twelve or thirteen years old, captured three years ago, at Fort Granville.

MARY TAYLOR, an English woman, captured, at Fort Granville, together with a girl named Margaret.

MARGARET, the girl captured with the foregoing.

We became acquainted with many other captives, men, women, and children, in various Indian towns, but do not know, or cannot remember their names. We are, however, heartily willing to give all such as have, or believe to have, connections among the Indians, any further information which may lie within our power. We intend to go from here to Lancaster, where we may be easily found.

Appendix E.

THE FIRST MASSACRES BY THE INDIANS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.¹

BY CAPT. H. M. M. RICHARDS.

Letter to the writer of this Paper, Feb. 13, 1906.

When the English surveyed the land which they had acquired from the Six Nations, at the Albany Treaty of July 6, 1754, it was found that the line ran about one mile from where Penn's Creek empties into the Susquehanna, near the present town of Selinsgrove. This is just where the massacre of the Leininger family took place. At the Aughwick Conference, which Weiser had with the Delaware Indians in August, 1754, they declared that they had never intended that said treaty, made with their masters the Six Nations, should embrace this territory, and that, because of their ignorance of the compass, the English had taken unjust advantage of them. To this claim of the Indians the English paid no attention, but, adhering to the treaty as drawn up, sold the land to settlers and allowed them to locate thereon. By the Fall of 1754 some twenty-five, or more, families had already built their homes on Penn's Creek.

Then came Braddock's defeat and the determination of the Delaware Indians to cast in their lot with the French.

The first step taken by the savage was to clear out those whom he felt to be living on land claimed by him. Accordingly, it was planned to exterminate the settlers on Penn's Creek. In addition to his own desire for revenge he was spurred to this action by the French who were extremely anxious to gain immediate possession of the territory where

¹ For an extended account of massacres committed by the Indians in Eastern Pennsylvania see Rupp's "History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," pp. 33-80, and his sources of information. In the Provincial Records, No. 340, Jacques le Roy, the father of Marie le Roy, is referred to, but the name is there anglicized into "Jacob King, a Swisser."

the two branches of the Susquehanna unite at the present town of Sunbury. This was a most important position for them because it gave them command of all the approaches from the north and west leading to the south and east, and also because it adjoined the headquarters of the Delaware tribes of Eastern Pennsylvania whom they were persuading to cast in their lots with them and to go on the war path. Fortunately, the early action of the English government in occupying the ground, and building Fort Augusta upon it set at naught the French scheme.

This, however, did not prevent the Indians from carrying out their own personal plans. The Delaware and Shawanese warriors, from Western Pennsylvania, promptly set out for the Penn's Creek settlement with the terrible result with which we are familiar. So well was their work done that the hapless settlers were practically exterminated, and the place was not again occupied until in 1768, some years after the war had ended.

This massacre occurred on October 16, 1755, and was the *FIRST attack of the savages on any one in Eastern Pennsylvania*. No other murder preceded it. It was the very beginning of the Indian outbreak.

So soon as the terrible news had been carried down the Susquehanna to the log house of Harris, the trader, (now Harrisburg), a party of some forty men were gathered together. They went up the river to Penn's Creek and buried the dead. On their return they were attacked at Mahanoy Creek by the Indians, and some of them were killed.

This occurred on October 25, 1755, and was the *SECOND* attack of the savages.

Up to this time *absolutely no murders* were committed east of the Susquehanna river at any place.

Now, however, the hostile western Indians began to approach the Blue Mountains on their way to the more thickly settled communities. Being joined by many of those at Shamokin (Sunbury), all headed for the *Swatara Gap*.

To be sure, as the news spread to the savages long the Delaware river they, in like manner, made an attack on the people located near the present town of Stroudsburg, but, as this outbreak occurred in December, and as these Indians were not the ones who came to Orwigsburg, we have nothing to do with them.

Therefore, the next record of murder was not until *November 16, 1755*, when the attack was made on the Tulpe-

hocken region. During that same month, on *November 21, 1755*, the Moravian massacres occurred in Northampton County.

So we see that positively no murders took place in Schuylkill County during October, and, indeed, no where else along the Blue Mountains. The Orwigsburg massacre and "skeedaddle" could not possibly have been prior to November, 1755, and may not have been until even later.

Muhlenberg, however, very clearly gives the date of the tragedy as *October 16, 1755*, from the lips of Regina's mother. As no other murder took place on that day, save the one at Penn's Creek, there can be no question but what Regina's parents lived at that place. In addition to that evidence we need only compare Barbara Leininger's Narrative with that of Muhlenberg to prove conclusively that the two agree in every respect. Then, remembering that nowhere does Muhlenberg give the last name of Regina's parents, and also noting that the age, as given by Rev. Weller for Mr. Hartmann, in no wise corresponds with the correct age of Regina's father, as mentioned by Muhlenberg, we do not hesitate to affirm, most positively, that Regina Leininger was the true name of our noted German Captive, and that the tragedy occurred near the mouth of Penn's Creek, not far from the present town of Selinsgrove.



El Grumbine, M.D.

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